6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmorokuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

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736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

•626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

*623 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
835
613 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
• [626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kąobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

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